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"Here, not to be corrupted is the shame."—POPE.

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LETTER I.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS
OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

St Austle, Cornwall, Aug. 22, 1808.

GENTLEMEN,

It is now sometime since I had the honour of addressing a letter to you. Indeed, having completely extricated yourselves from the trammels of the regularly drilled opposition, as well as from those of the ministry of the day; having, by actions as well as by words, clearly proved that you are no longer to be made the dupes of any set of trading politicians, there remained no longer any occasion for me to trouble you with my advice. It is not, therefore, with a view to convey to you either advice or instruction that I now address you. My object is to communicate to the nation at large facts, which I have recently collected, which, in time, may, if deeply imprinted upon the minds of men, become of great public utility, and I choose, as the vehicle, an address to you; first, because I am always anxious to show you marks of my respect, and, secondly, because, as it will evidently appear from the sequel, the conduct of the persons, of whom I shall have to speak, is of that sort which you, above all other men in the kingdom, have a right to canvass and to judge of.—The subject is that, in which, more than in any other, you have, of late years, shown that you took an interest; namely, *the means that are used for returning Members to the Commons House of Parliament*; but, when you observe what part of the kingdom it is, whence I address you, you will not anticipate any very striking instances of those salutary effects, which many persons were sanguine enough to expect from the excellent example, given by you, of purity of election.

On the 19th and the 20th of this month, there were two Trials, at the assizes, held at Bodmin, in this county, and, it is the facts, brought to light upon these trials, that I am about to communicate, having taken particular pains correctly to collect them.—As for yourselves, you appear to

have imbibed a thorough conviction, that, until the constitution be again acted upon, in substance as well as in form, with respect to the electing of members to serve in parliament, there will be, and can be, no really useful reform, of any kind, take place; that all the talk and all the attempts, relating to abuses, will in future, as they hitherto have, produce no other ultimate effect, than that of causing new burthens to be laid upon the people; that it is foolish to hope for any of the political changes, which all good men would wish to see take place, until measures be adopted to give good men a chance of having a voice in the returning of those, who have the power to promote or to prevent such changes; that, in short, while the source is foul, while that is poisoned by corruption, it must be folly in the extreme, or the basest hypocrisy, to believe, or affect to believe, that the stream can be pure. With respect to the foulness of the source, generally speaking, there are few persons who have any doubt; and, except the Edinburgh Reviewers and their disciples, including your old friends, the Whig reformers, there are no persons, not interested in the trade of votes, who do not lament the existence of the evil. All men have a general notion of the vile traffic that is carried on in Boroughs; but, notions received from general descriptions have not upon the mind the same effect as those which are received from a detail of facts, especially when that detail is of undoubted authenticity. For this reason it was that I attended personally the two trials above spoken of, took down the evidence with great care, and strictly watched the whole course of the proceedings; and, in now communicating to you, and to the public through you, what transpired and what took place upon this occasion, I am not without hopes, that something may be done towards the producing of that deep and general abhorrence of these corrupt practices, which must precede the adopting of measures for their destruction.

In both of the cases, to which the trials related, SIR CHRISTOPHER HAWKINS, Baronet, was the principal party accused. The first was a prosecution of him and eighteen others (amongst whom was a clergyman)

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by order of the House of Commons, for a conspiracy to corrupt the voters of the Borough of PENRYN, in this county. The charge was in substance this: that, in the year 1805, there was a committee formed in the borough; that this committee was composed of all the accused parties, Sir Christopher Hawkins excepted; that these parties, about the month of November, 1805, drew up a paper, which was to be, and which afterwards was, presented to Sir Christopher Hawkins; that, in this paper, it was stated, in the form of stipulations, that, in return for the patronage of the Borough, to be given unto him, Sir Christopher Hawkins should, amongst other things to be by him done, pay annually to the two overseers of the poor ten guineas each, and that, besides this, he should pay to certain other persons *twenty-four guineas* each, and to others one pound each; that this paper was, by certain persons of the committee at Penryn, taken, the day after it was drawn up, to the seat of Sir Christopher Hawkins, a place called TREWITHEEN; and that there Sir Christopher agreed to all the conditions contained in the paper aforementioned.—Before we proceed to the evidence, given in support of this charge, it is necessary to observe, that, at the election which took place in the summer of 1806, that is to say, the Whig general election, which produced the short parliament, Sir Christopher and Mr. Swann, who is by some called the *black Swann*, from his dress, I suppose, and by others more emphatically called, *lawyer Swann*, were candidates on one side, and that Messrs. Wingfield and Trevanion were candidates on the other; that the two former were returned; and, that the two latter were finally seated, it having been proved to the satisfaction of the committee who tried the merits of the petition presented by them, that the former had been returned in consequence of the bribery and corruption, stated in the charge, in order to punish which bribery and corruption the House of Commons, in pursuance of the report of the committee, issued their order to the Attorney General.—The Attorney General was, in this prosecution, represented by Mr. Serjeant LENS, aided by Messrs. JEYKELL, BOROUGH, and DAMPIER, while, on the side of the defendants, appeared Mr. GARROW, as the leader, aided by Mr. Serjeant PELL and Mr. EAST.

It was my intention not to note down any thing at all that should be said by the pleaders on either side; but, to confine myself solely to the facts which should be given

in evidence. From this intention, however, I was induced to depart by the doctrine laid down by Mr. Serjeant Lens, the representative, upon this occasion, of the king's Attorney General, and the executor of the commands of the House of Commons. This gentleman, after some common-place observations upon the excellence of that constitution, "under which we have the "happiness to live, and which has insured "to us that freedom which has made us the "envy of the world;" after a good deal of this, of which you have heard so much from the lips of the Pitts, the Dundases, the Roses, the Longs, the Steeles, and, indeed, from every creature which has derived its subsistence from the taxes; after a quantity more than sufficient of this general, loose, and totally indefinite common-place, Mr. Lens came to something more tangible; and he said almost in the very words, in which I shall give it to you, that "it was not the object of the prosecution to check the ambition of obtaining parliamentary interest, "of securing a seat for oneself, or of being "in a situation to point out others to fill "seats in parliament; that he would not "inquire whether voting by the people "was, or was not, the best source, whence "to derive the right of sitting in parliament, that could be devised; that he "would not say, that, if the nomination "had always rested solely with Sir Christopher Hawkins, he might not always have "selected persons the most proper, and "that, assuredly, there was nothing to object to in the gentleman (*lawyer Swann*) "who had been selected upon this occasion; that he reprobated those idle theories, which supposed no previous connection or understanding between the candidate and the electors; that if it should "appear, that, by patronage, nothing more "was meant, in this case, than promises "of serving the electors, or any part of "them, or of pointing out other gentlemen who would be able to serve them by "recommendations, or other acts of benevolence, he should then say, that such "patronage was not only blameless, but "laudable; that he wished to awaken in "the minds of the jury no dormant notions "about abstract principles, but to confine "their view to the practice of the constitution."—Upon this doctrine, Gentlemen, it is quite unnecessary for me to comment, at any length, in a letter to you, who have given to the nation a convincing proof, that nothing can be easier, when men have the virtue to do what the constitution prescribes, than to make the practice of it exact-

ly conformable to its principles. The advocates on the side of the alledged conspirators failed not to signify their satisfaction at Mr. Lens's doctrine, and well they might be satisfied with it; for it was manifest enough, that what their clients were charged with was what was, in substance, *practised*, in many instances, at every general election; and, you may remember, that, at the time when the House of Commons ordered the prosecution, I took the liberty to ask, how it happened, that the advertisements, which daily appeared in the news-papers for the purchase and sale of seats, were suffered to pass, not only unpunished, but unnoticed, by the House, though, at that time, your old friends, the Whig-reformers, were in power.

The first witness that was called was BENJAMIN MOON, and his evidence was as follows. He states, that Penryn is a scot and lot borough, the whole number of voters being about two hundred; that he was a resident there in 1805; that, in 1805, a club or committee was formed, as he believes, but, it is so long ago, that he has but a very confused recollection of the matter; that he can scarcely call it a committee; that some neighbours met to spend their six-pennies and to chat a bit in an evening; that he thinks, though the thing has almost fled from his mind, that they did talk something about Sir Christopher Hawkins; that he can scarcely remember what that something was; that he has a faint recollection that, at one time, there was a sort of talk about selecting a patron for the Borough, and he is sure he thought there was no harm in it; that Lord De Dunstanville had been the patron before, and had declined being so any longer; that he (Moon) was a member of the committee, which consisted of about 16 or 18, of which Mr. Dillon, a clergyman, was one; that there was a meeting of the committee about November, 1805; that he cannot say what day exactly, it being almost like a dream to him; that the object of the meeting this day was to sit down, and have a little chat, as usual; that he does not remember any very particular conversation that passed that evening; recollects that certain persons (whom he names) were present; recollects that something or other was said as to what was to be done the ensuing day, and about going to Sir C. Hawkins's house, but it is in his mind like a shadow; that he went the ensuing day, or the day after that, to Sir C. Hawkins's, accompanied by some of the members of the committee, and found Mr. Dillon already there, together with two others of the Com-

mittee; believes that he and the rest requested Sir Christopher to become the patron of the Borough, in which he could perceive no harm; thinks that a paper was produced to Sir Christopher, but cannot, if put to the rack, recollect what was said when the paper was produced; to the best of his recollection Sir Christopher took up the paper; thinks it was taken into another room by Sir Christopher; Mr. CHILCOT (Sir Christopher's steward, or agent) went into the other room; has some notion that Chilcot, when he returned, brought another paper with him; something was said about Sir Christopher's becoming the patron of the Borough; saw no signature to the paper brought by Chilcot; is all in a maze, and scarcely knows what he says; thinks the other paper was signed by some one; thinks it might be signed by the parties who went from Penryn; does not know that it was signed by Sir Christopher; believes Sir Christopher read the paper; does not know that all present heard it read. "What did you hear read from the paper?" "I can recollect scarcely any thing of it. I am sure I meant no harm in the world. It was something that Sir Christopher agreed to be patron of the Borough, or something like that."

Here he appealed to the Judge, whether he was bound to answer questions *tending to criminate* himself; and the Judge having told him that he was not, Mr. Serjeant Lens produced a pardon, under the Great Seal, for all the crimes he (Moon) might have committed in the transactions in question. A dispute between the counsel, as to the extent of the effects of this pardon having been dismissed by the Judge, the examination of Moon proceeded as follows.

"What were the contents of this paper?" "They related to the patronage of the borough. What else? Something about an agreement to take us up as patron of the borough. What was that something about? Why, I think, it was to agree to pay the *usual sum*. What was that usual sum? I believe it was *twenty-four guineas*. When Sir Christopher read the paper was it mentioned *twenty-four guineas*, or the usual sum? I think, *twenty-four guineas*. Had you ever heard this paper read before? I think I heard it read at the meeting before." He staid at Sir Christopher's about four hours, dined there, and returned with others to Penryn in the evening; never saw the paper since; thinks he saw it last on the table of Sir Christopher; does not know who put it away; that was after it was signed.

"What became of Chilcot's paper? Thinks "Mr. STONA had it." After Sir Christopher had read the paper, he said he had no objection to it, or something similar; was at the first meeting of the Committee afterwards; does not recollect all of those who might be present; says STONA, DILLON, and some others were; it was, at this meeting, resolved to vote for Sir Christopher; does not remember any thing else that was done; does not know whether the names of Roe and Henwood were mentioned; cannot speak positively; Roe he knows to be a farmer, and he knows Henwood; this was the first meeting of the committee subsequent to the visit to Trewithen; recollects that it was resolved to vote for Sir Christopher, for the sake of peace; cannot recollect any thing else; cannot say what did pass, but something must have passed relating to the subject of the meeting at Sir Christopher's; never recollects seeing ROE at any of the meetings; does not recollect any thing very particular that was said at this meeting; believes that something was said of what Roe was to do. "What was he to do?" He was to go round and speak to the people, to the inhabitants, to his friends, to all the party, to the voters. "What was he to say to them?" Does not recollect. "What was he to do?" "To the best of my recollection he was to give them something to drink *health*." "Whose health?" "I believe, *the peace of the Borough*." It might be said Sir Christopher's health; believes it was so. "What was the sum he was to give?" Has some notion that it was twenty shillings; believes that this was to each voter that would accept of it; never heard Henwood's name mentioned in the Committee; has seen Roe and Henwood several times go about the streets together since the meeting; has seen them go into the houses of the voters; was an overseer of the poor in 1805 and 1806; received ten guineas each year, as overseer, through the hands of Croggen; was a voter when overseer; at Sir C. Hawkins's it was agreed that ten guineas a year should be paid to each overseer by Sir Christopher; it used to be paid by the patron; Sir Christopher said he was satisfied to do it, as it had been done before; Mr. Dillon paid the money to Mr. Croggen, he being a magistrate; saw Sir Christopher go about the Borough, but not, as he knows, to canvass any one.

Cross-examined by Mr. GARROW.—Had no idea that the money was for purposes of bribery; the sums given were not, by him, regarded as having the least connection,

with election purposes; did not think at first, that there would be any opposition; voted for Sir Christopher and Swain; became a witness in support of the petition of Wingfield and Trevanion; had ever respected my Lord De Dunstanville, who was a most worthy nobleman; never heard of the pardon, till it came into court.

Examined by the Judge.—"Now, Moon, answer me; and recollect, that, as I told you before, when you *know* a thing, and say that you *think* it, or *believe* it, you swear falsely.—What was said, at Sir Christopher's, about giving the usual sum, and to whom? I don't recollect. To what description of persons? The voters. Was it twenty-four guineas each, and did Sir Christopher agree to give that sum? He said he had no objection. What persons were then in the room? STONA the elder, DILLON (he adds other names). Was it said *how often* twenty-four guineas were to be given? No. Was it said *when*? Time not specified. For what was twenty-four guineas the usual sum? Cannot tell, my lord, am sure I never meant any harm; I did not know that there was any thing wrong in it. Was that sum ever given but after an election? I do not know that it was. Did you ever see twenty-four guineas given at any time? No, my lord."—Twenty-four guineas was mentioned in presence of the defendants; they, at their previous meeting, agreed that that sum should be proposed to Sir Christopher; at the same time it was agreed to propose to him to give twenty guineas a year to the two overseers, who were both voters; it was understood, at the meeting, that the sums of twenty-four guineas were to be given to voters, not to every voter, but to each of some of them only; it was intended for the friends who voted, if they chose to take it; what he heard read from the paper, by Sir Christopher, agreed with these previous arrangements; to the best of his knowledge he heard Sir Christopher read about giving the usual sum; has no doubt of it; not quite so sure, that he heard him read about the ten guineas to each of the overseers.

Messrs. EDWARDS and WARREN, two attorneys of this county, were called to prove, the service of notices and the Speaker's warrant upon Sir Christopher Hawkins, and the other defendants, to produce the paper described by Moon; and, it appeared, from the evidence of Mr. Warren, that, when he served the Speaker's warrant upon STONA, that latter told him, that the paper (which was fully described in the warrant) had been

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destroyed long since; and, that, as to the other paper, namely, the other part of the agreement, he knew nothing about where it was.

J. W. CHILCOT (the steward or agent of Sir Christopher Hawkins) was the next witness examined, and his memory appeared to be quite as good, to say the least of it, as Moon's was bad. No faltering; no hesitation; his answers were all off-hand; and, as Mr. Garrow exultingly described him, he seemed to be a witness intended by nature to form a contrast in point of memory, with Benjamin Moon.—He saw the paper at Trewithen; he read it; copied it, in another room, by the direction of Sir Christopher; brought back the original and the copy and laid both upon the table; saw one paper in the hands of Sir Christopher, and the other in the hands of the Committee; saw signatures to one paper; no signatures to the original when he copied it; saw the party from Penryn all sign one paper; never saw either of the papers since that day; cannot tell which paper was taken away; last saw one paper with Sir Christopher and one with Stona; he read the paper aloud to both parties before he copied it; Stona, the Rev. Robert Dillon, and others were present; read it for the purpose for them all to hear; Sir Christopher ran his pen through some parts of the paper, and then desired him to copy it; copied it, leaving out the erased parts; the paper contained from four to six propositions, but not more than six; and, at the head, stated that its object was *to restore peace and tranquillity to the borough of Penryn*; one of the propositions was, that the patronage of the borough should be offered to Sir Christopher Hawkins; another, that Sir Christopher should, at the next election, have the power of naming a member to serve in Parliament for the borough; another, that, when there should be a second vacancy, the party opposite to the corporation, should name a member; another, that they should support Sir Christopher with their votes and interest; there was another, but is not certain whether that was in the paper at last, or not, and this related to the *supply of news-papers* for the corporation, *as usual*; did hear a conversation about the ten guineas a year to each of the overseers; heard of no other money propositions; about December 1806 was directed by Sir Christopher to pay expences incurred at the election; paid a hundred pounds to Mr. J. Stona, in ten notes of ten pounds each; sent the money by William Williams; has Stona's receipt.

Roe was called. This man had, by Moon, been described as a *farmer*, and I wish,

with all my soul, that my abilities were equal to the task of giving you, Gentlemen, an adequate description of this Cornish farmer. He appeared to be between fifty and sixty years of age; his stature was rather athletic; his shoulders were somewhat rounded by age and labour; his hair was coal black, intermixed with white; his complexion dark and ruddy; his lips were drawn inwards to the complete hiding of the red, which extended the latitude of his cheeks, already more than sufficiently wide; his eyes, which were piercingly sharp, were to be perceived only in glances through his long and overhanging eye-brows; and, as he mounted, with slow and cautious step, into the witness box, he turned his head from side to side, with a look as wary and as anxious as if he had thought, that, from every point of the hall, a pistol was aimed at his head. Good God, what a look!—This man, this Cornish farmer, being asked what he had to do with STONA, in April, 1806, answered, after some hesitation, that they had some *money-matters* to chat about. "What was the nature of those money-matters?" "I do not think it *safe to myself* to answer that question." The Judge then said. "Roe, it is my duty to inform you, that you are not bound to answer any question, if such answer shall tend to criminate yourself." "Thank you, my lord! thank you, my lord! very much obliged to you, my lord!" And thus, in repeating his expressions of self-convicting gratulation, he left the box and sunk from our sight, leaving me, for a moment, under the horrid idea, that I had, in coming over some of these western hills, in the night, been taken up by the wind and conveyed across the Atlantic; where there are, with some exceptions, a whole nation of Roes.

J. W. CHILCOT, of excellent memory, was called again after the descent of Roe, and questioned by the JUDGE. Does not remember what was contained in the parts, struck out of the paper; Sir Christopher Hawkins said, when it was proposed to insert the condition relative to the ten guineas annual allowance to the overseers, "*no, no; we had better not insert that.*" There was a conversation about ten guineas to the overseers; has not a recollection of what was finally settled upon this head; does not know, that any thing was said about paying voters; the paper contained nothing about paying the overseers.

Here, the evidence being closed, Mr. GARROW made a long speech, which, as far as it related to the case, contained nothing, which, if given verbatim, could be at all interesting to you, as it consisted principally

of an exposure of the prevarications and self-contradictions of Moon, which were too palpable to escape the observation of any man. But, this gentleman, in the out-set of his speech, took occasion to deprecate this mode of putting men upon their trial, that is to say, in virtue of *an order of the House of Commons*. He very concisely and very ably described the several *other* modes of putting men on their trial; that by bill of indictment; that by information issuing upon rule from the court of king's bench; that of information ex-officio by the attorney general; of all which he highly approved; nay, he said, that if, upon this occasion either the attorney general or the learned serjeant who represented him here, had been left to exercise *their* wisdom upon the matter, he should not have objected to it; "but," said he, turning up his nose, "under *what* sanction does this charge, levelled against the fame of nineteen honourable men, come before you, gentlemen? Why, verily," tossing out the back of his hand, "that of *an order of the House of Commons!*"—Serjeant Lens, considering the up-hill cause, which he had now to sustain, and especially with the defence which he had to make of the *source* of the prosecution, acquitted himself with great ability. But the serjeant, who, notwithstanding his constitutional doctrine, appears to be a man of great merit, and by no means impudent, could not help feeling the cruelty of his opponent, in throwing upon his shoulders a defence of his clients, the House of Commons. He appeared to feel the whole weight of it; and, as he did not venture to seek revenge, by hinting that Mr. Garrow's contempt of the Honourable House, might, perhaps, be justifiable upon principles of reciprocity, evidently laboured, to the end of his speech, under the great disadvantage of following a triumphant adversary. The Honourable House had, at this trial, the singular misfortune, to have a doubt raised, respecting its understanding, by the means which it had adopted for what is called "*preserving its purity*;" and, when Mr. Lens made use of this last quoted expression, it was quite shocking [to perceive the irreverent feelings, that appeared to be excited; though, as I afterwards was given to understand, that "Honourable Gentleman," Mr. HORNER, was not only in court, but actually sitting at the bar in a black gown and a white wig.

The Judge (Mr. Justice Bailly), who, if he ever had any froth or arrogance about him, appears to have very wisely left it all at the bar, summed up the evidence in a very

clear and impartial manner. He said, that there appeared little doubt of there having been some such agreement as that which had been described in the evidence, "and," said he, "gentlemen, it is scandalous and atrocious in itself, that men should deliberately bargain for the purchase and sale of that which the law requires should be given freely, without reward, or promise of reward, and which, moreover, they swear to give freely, and totally unconnected with any pecuniary view; but, as these acts affect society they are to be considered as still more detestable; for, if oaths can be thus sported with, it is quite impossible that we should derive from moral obligation, any security for property or life; and, as to the constitution, if acts like these are regarded as harmless, it is, though it has been, and may still be, our boast, something less, if possible, than a shadow." He told the jury, that the bargain for giving ten guineas to the overseers was full as unlawful as any other part of the agreement, because, it was the duty of persons appointed overseers to serve that office free of reward, or emolument, of any kind, or in any shape; that any money given to them by Sir Christopher Hawkins, in consequence of a bargain, such as had been described, could be considered in no other light than that of a bribe, under which description, indeed, came all the promised sums of this bargain, or agreement. "But," said he, "gentlemen, we must not suffer our abhorrence of the crimes charged, to lead us away from a due and dispassionate consideration of the question, whether they have, by the evidence that we have heard, been brought home to the defendants? And here, gentlemen, you will perceive, that the only witness, whose evidence makes for the prosecution, is Benjamin Moon. If you believe the account which Moon, in the latter part of his examination, has given of the agreement between Sir Christopher Hawkins and the committee from Penryn, there can be little hesitation in finding these defendants guilty; but, it is my duty to point out to you why he is in no case safely to be relied on." He then went on to shew the prevarications and self-contradictions of Moon; he pointed out how his memory became clarified after the pardon had been produced; and shewed, which, indeed, was the obvious fact, that if Moon swore truly in the latter part of his evidence, he swore falsely in the former part of it; and that if he swore truly in the former, he swore falsely in the latter; so that, at any rate, this man,

upon who could be of the just diet, man believed. NOT GU of all wh Judge obs satisfied, dishonou strong the defendant should es found guil dence of I will, fo this trial, other num and corrup appears to hard push from the I a

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second T HAWKINS before, th We other will be nee planation were conc and, more of the cle the list, world. T Christophe rough, an late as GRAMPO ounds to "bition," ular wa he Rev. David Van latter being which you on. Before I

upon whose evidence alone a verdict of guilty could be pronounced, had, in the presence of the jury who was to pronounce that verdict, manifestly shown that he was not to be believed.—The jury gave a verdict of NOT GUILTY, to the perfect satisfaction of all who heard the trial; because, as the Judge observed, however well they might be satisfied, that something unlawful and very dishonourable had taken place; however strong the presumptions might be against the defendants; still, it were better that they should escape, than that any man should be found guilty upon the uncorroborated evidence of such a witness as Moon.—Here I will, for the present, take my leave of this trial, with observing, that, to all the other numerous causes of impunity to bribers and corruptors, may be added this, which appears to be peculiar to them, that, when hard pushed, they frequently derive security from the infamy of their friends.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful, and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER II.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Ivy Bridge, Devon, Aug. 24, 1808.

GENTLEMEN,

IN the case, to which the second Trial related, SIR CHRISTOPHER HAWKINS, BARONET was also, as I stated before, the principal party. There were five other defendants, and, in this case, it will be necessary, with a view to a clear explanation of the transactions, in which they were concerned, to give you all their names, and, moreover, it is right that the example of the *clergyman* whom you will find upon the list, should not be hidden from the world. The defendants were, then, *Sir Christopher Hawkins*, Recorder of the Borough, and whom we are now to contemplate as the patron of the Borough of GRAMPOUND (for there appears to be no bounds to this gentleman's "laudable ambition," as Mr. Lens calls it, in this particular way), *William Symons*, the Mayor, the Rev. *George Moore*, *John Croggon*, *David Varcoe*, and *George Hoyte*, the four latter being Capital Burgesses, a dignity of which you will have hereafter a clearer notion.

Before I come to the particular acts, of

which these persons stood charged, you should be informed of the circumstances, which led to the commission of those acts.

—For about twenty years, preceding the summer of 1806, Sir Christopher had enjoyed the uninterrupted patronage of the Borough. It appears that, at the election, which immediately followed the WHITE DISSOLUTION, at the time just mentioned, Sir Christopher took one seat for himself, and placed in the other a Mr. Fawcett, then, I believe, lately returned from Hindostan, that country so famous for breeding members of parliament; that, from some cause or other, the electors of Grampound were not satisfied with the demeanour of their new member, who failed, I believe, in discovering, after the election was over, a sufficient degree of that "laudable benevolence," of which Mr. Lens gave us a rather imperfect description; that the electors, or a majority of them, after having waited a reasonable time, complained to Fawcett of this his conduct; that Fawcett assured them, and convinced them, that the fault was not his; that he, considering Sir Christopher to be not only generally the more experienced person, but, in this special instance, much better acquainted with the usages of the Borough, as well as with the individual merits and claims of the voters, had delegated to him the full power of acting on his part; that the dissatisfied electors represented this to Sir Christopher; that he, not then foreseeing that another election was likely so soon to take place (nor during his life, perhaps, for he appears to be nearly seventy years of age), gave them but a very unsatisfactory answer, consisting of mere words, which are wind; that, however, it happened, unfortunately for Sir Christopher, that there very soon after arose a strong probability of Sir Christopher's own seat becoming vacant at Grampound in consequence of the transactions at *Penryn*, of which transactions you have already been made acquainted; that, upon the dawn of this probability, the dissatisfied electors of Grampound (who were a decided majority) conceived the idea of withdrawing their Borough from the patronage of Sir Christopher, and, as you heard at the time, did actually offer, in case the expected vacancy should take place, to elect Sir Francis Burdett, or any gentleman whom he might recommend to their choice; that Sir Francis declined the offer for himself, but recommended to them, upon the presumption that they meant to act upon principles quite disinterested, to elect the HONOURABLE ANDREW COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, a gentle-

man whom he regarded as having been most cruelly oppressed, and whom he was anxious to see in a situation, where he would be able to do something, at least, towards protecting others from similar oppression; that, before the proceedings necessary to produce the vacancy of Sir Christopher's seat, upon the Penryn charges, could be gone through, came the No-POPERY dissolution, in April 1807, which, of course, gave the electors of Grampound an opportunity of choosing two new members instead of one, and of completely ousting Sir Christopher from his patronage of the Borough; that now Mr. Cochrane Johnstone with his brother Mr. George Augustus Cochrane, went down, and offered themselves as candidates, in opposition to one Williams, a London banker, and Alexander Baring, an American merchant, standing upon Sir Christopher's interest, and, by a very large majority were elected; that Williams and Baring petitioned against the return, and that the election was, on the 9th of *March last*, declared to be void; that on the 17th of the same month, another election took place, when (Mr. Cochrane Johnstone being abroad) Capt. Holmes stood in his place, along with Mr. George Augustus Cochrane, who (against the same Williams and a Mr. Teed, a Navy agent and banker at Plymouth) were elected by a majority of *thirteen*, they having *twenty-seven* votes against *fourteen* on the side of Sir Christopher's candidates; that the Mayor, however, who was one of those who were satisfied with Sir Christopher's patronage, struck off, under various pretences, as many votes at it was necessary to strike off, in order to leave Sir Christopher's members a majority of one vote; that Cochrane and Holmes petitioned against this return; and that, in a very short time afterwards, they were, by the decision of a committee of the House of Commons, placed in the seats, which had been, in consequence of the unjustifiable return of the Mayor, filled, for a few weeks, by Williams and Teed.

Now, Gentlemen, we come to the transactions which formed the subject of the trial, on the 20th instant, at Bodmin, and which took place in pursuance of a criminal information, filed in and issuing from, the Court of King's Bench, against the defendants.—You have seen, that Sir Christopher had lost the Borough; that he had lost the majority, but that he had not lost *all* the voters. There were still some, and those the leading ones, in his interest, who, for reasons quite sufficient in all probability, were satisfied with him as a patron. The object was, then, in

the autumn of 1807, to *add*, if possible, to the number of Sir Christopher's voters, before another election, from whatever cause, should take place. It was in vain attempted to draw over the voters of the Cochranes, who, by *what means*, I do not, observe me well, pretend to say, had attached their majority firmly to their interest. This mode of adding to Sir Christopher's voters appearing to be hopeless, another was attempted, namely, that of *increasing the number of voters in the Borough*, taking care that the increase should consist wholly of persons who would vote for Sir Christopher, or candidates set up by him. An increase was actually made accordingly, and, it was of the crime of "conspiracy and misdemeanor," committed in the making of this increase, that the defendants stood charged.

I regret the going into further preliminary matter, but, Gentlemen, in order to arrive at a clear and correct conception of the acts charged against the defendants, it is necessary that you follow me through a description of the "constitution" of a Cornish Borough; which, for reasons that you will not find it difficult to discover, is not considered less "glorious" by the electors of Grampound, than another constitution (in its present practice) is, by Mr. Serjeant Lens and the people at Whitehall.—The body corporate of Grampound consists of a *Recorder*, who has no vote at elections; of a *Mayor*, who has a vote; of *eight Capital Burgesses*, who have votes; of an *indefinite number of free-men*, each of whom has a vote. Now, the number of free-men being *indefinite*, you will, at once, see, that the power of *making new free-men* is, as to electioneering purposes (and, indeed, those appear to be the only practical purposes for which the corporation exists) of the greatest importance; for, if the Recorder, or the Mayor, or any of the *few*, could make free-men at their pleasure, it is very evident, that they would, by one means or another, always get as many votes as they wanted to keep down such of the free-men as should be opposed to them. Therefore, in order to insure to the free-men the means of self-protection, in this respect, the following rules have been adopted, and have, it appears, been in usage from time immemorial. It was proved, that it is only at two fixed periods in each year that new free-men can be legally made; that these two periods are at, or near (a circumstance of no importance), Easter and Michaelmas; that upon these occasions there are other matters to transact, and that it is not a necessary consequence of

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the meeting of the corporate body that any free-men at all should be made, which you will easily perceive to be the fact, from the small number of voters now in the Borough; that, these meetings are called courts-leet, or law-courts, at which the Mayor presides, assisted by the eight capital Burgesses, who are sworn to be of *good council* (good lord!) with the Mayor; by the Recorder; and by the Town Clerk, whom I shall have the honour, and no small one you will find it to be, of introducing to you anon; that, the court being thus assembled, on the days fixed, as before-mentioned, the Mayor chooses two of the Burgesses, who, when so chosen, are called *Elizors*, to be foreman of a jury; that, the Elizors then choose a number *not less than ten*, from amongst the freemen, who, together with the two Elizors form a *jury*, which jury, having first taken an oath in the form of a Grand-Jury oath, retire to the chapel (the parish church being at a distance) and draw up a presentment, which they sign, and then deliver it to the court; that, in this presentment, they may, if they see fit, include the nomination of new free-men, which free men, so presented, acquire, at the distance of a year and a day from that time, the right of voting for members of Parliament.

In these rules, Gentlemen, you will see that there existed a complete check upon the higher against the lower order in the Borough, and you will now see how this check was got rid of. There were found to be, at the last Michaelmas court (the time when the acts charged against the defendants were committed) but *seven* free-men in favour of Sir Christopher Hawkins. It was, therefore, if the ancient custom was adhered to, impossible to procure the making of new free-men in his favour; because, at the very least, it required, for that purpose, *ten* free men in his favour. The *19th of October*, is the day fixed for the holding of the autumnal court. Previous to this day, various means are stated to have been made use of, in order to bring over the requisite number of free-men; but, these means having failed, the court, in a few minutes after it was assembled, adjourned, *without any cause alledged*, to the *26th of October*; and this, the charge stated, was for the purpose of bringing over free-men, in the mean while, by the means of bribery and corruption. The *26th* arrived, however, without the expected success; now, therefore, as a last resource, it was determined to make up a jury which should be wanting in the accustomed proportion of free-men, which determination they thus executed. The

Mayor named two *Elizors*, in the usual way, one was *David Varcoe* and the other *George Hoyte*, and these two, instead of choosing *ten or more* FREE-MEN to be their co-jurors, chose the *seven* free-men in the interest of Sir Christopher Hawkins, and *four* CAPITAL BURGESSES one of whom, by-the-bye, was a *reverend* WM. EDWARD DILLON, and another of them, a person in his *dotage*. This jury, as might be expected, presented some persons to be *new free-men*. There were *six* of them, I believe, but the exact number is immaterial. The free-men, who were in the interest of the Cochranes, presented a protest against this proceeding; the facts were afterwards stated, by affidavit, to the Court of King's Bench, and upon those affidavits, a criminal information was issued, upon which information the defendants were put upon their trial, at the time and place above-mentioned, before Mr. Justice Bailly and a common jury; and I will now proceed to lay before you the evidence given in support of the charge,

The first witness that was called, after a Mr. HUNT from London, who produced certain documents containing proof of the existence of the Borough, was a person who could speak as to some customs thereof, and also as to some rather unimportant circumstances relating to the assembling and adjoining of the court-leet, on the *19th of October*. And here, Gentlemen, I am forcibly tempted into a digression, which, though it will extend a letter, that already threatens to be of an immoderate length, will, I am satisfied, give you a clearer insight, as to the political state of the county of Cornwall, then you will be able to obtain from any of, or all, the publications, at this day extant. When this person's name was called, the sudden direction of all eyes towards the spot whence his answer-issued, together with the complaisant, and I wish truth would not let me add, the obsequious, look of but too many at the bar, made me conclude, that the person, about to be examined, was a *lord*, at the very least, and I could not help thinking to myself, that it was a good deal better to be a lord in Cornwall than in St. James's street. But, Gentlemen, guess, if you can, at my astonishment, when, upon the termination of the evidence of this man, to be known to whom some of the advocates, on both sides, seemed to be proud, I looked up behind me (to the *side of the judge* where he was standing) and perceived an *attorney*, of the name of COODE, with a bundle of smoky papers in his hand, tied round with a bit of pack-thread! This was the *Town-Clerk* of Grampound, upon whose advice, as he him-

self stated the court-leet of the 19th of October was adjourned, and who attended as town-clerk, on the 26th of October. There was very little to excite interest in the conduct of this man, at Grampound; nor did his evidence seem to be very important; but, what the devil entitled him to the privilege of giving his evidence from the side of the bench where the Judge was sitting! I put this question to one of the counsellors, who, after having taken a moment as it were to reflect upon the probable cause, told me that Coode was the *under-sheriff* this year. Not satisfied with this, however, I applied, for further explanation, to a neighbour on my left, who, at first, answered me with a "*hush, hush, hush,*" raising his eyes slowly towards Coode, and, at last, fixing them upon him, in a look, expressive of that veneration and awe, which, through the windows of the print-shop in Pall-Mall, you see so admirably blended in the representation of ABELARD kneeling before the Crucifix.—In short, not to waste my and your time in minute descriptions, I found, that this man's name was Edward Coode, the partner of another attorney of the name of Charles Rashleigh; that these men, as attorneys, have the giving of, perhaps, *three or four hundred fees in a year*; that Rashleigh is Receiver-General of the county, and Clerk of the general meetings of the Deputy Lieutenants, that is to say, in fact, the representative of the Lord Lieutenant; that Coode is Deputy Clerk of the Peace for the county, Treasurer of the county, Town Clerk of the Boroughs of Grampound, St. Michael, and Tregony; that Coode is, almost every other year (the law prohibiting his being so every year), under-sheriff of the county, in which years, you know, the law forbids him to be an attorney, and, of course, you know, he casts his capacity of attorney for those years, taking it up again at the end of each year; that Coode is, besides, a banker; that, together, or separately, these men are agents, in one way or another, for two thirds of all those who have influence in the county; that Rashleigh, whose interest put GREGOR, the late county member, in, has now put in his own nephew in Gregor's stead; that such, and so generally known and acknowledged, is the extent of their power, that the common people, who are backward neither in perceiving nor ridiculing the degradation of the higher orders, call these men, one *King Charles* and the other *King Edward*.—Well might my poor friend Abelard cry "*hush*!" Well might an ignorant crowd stare with admiration! But, that the bar should look obsequious! That there should

be met with, amongst gentlemen by profession, and, what is more, men of really great talents, a rivalry in this the most degrading sort of *huggery*, is a reflection, at which the mind sickens with disgust.

The next witness called was EDWARD HOARE.—Sir Christopher asked him on the 19th of October, if he would be upon the jury; he answered that he was very willing; Sir C. said that he wanted to bring in a few friends; the witness told him he would vote for any of his friends; Sir C. told him that he would get nothing from the Cochranes; witness answered that he expected nothing; was then told by Sir C. that, if he would go into the jury, for the purpose of voting in free-men, he would always be a friend to him; this was about half an hour before the court met.

WILLIAM GOYEN said, that, about two or three days before the court met, on the 19th of October, the Mayor's son came for him and Restarick; they went to the Mayor's house; Sir C. was there, and the Rev. Mr. Dillon was there; Sir C. asked him to be on the jury, to bring in such and such men, the six that were proposed; he answered that he would not, and that he thought there was no necessity of bringing in any freemen at that court; Sir C. said, that, if he would not, he could get ten of the party to bring in half the town, if he wished it; answered that he thought he could not get one; Sir C. mentioned names; attended the court on the 19th; remembers that several freemen were present ready to go upon the jury; Restarick was not present at the conversation between him and Sir Christopher.

JOHN BROWN said, that all the defendants (naming them) were present, when the court was adjourned, on the 19th; Charles VARCOE (one of the Capital Burgesses put upon the jury) was so feeble as to be unable to walk alone; Varcoe did not appear to hear his name when it was called; Varcoe's son touched his father, when his name was called, and said, "*you must say, here, father;*" Varcoe, when sworn (by Mr. Coode) appeared to be in a torpid senseless state; Varcoe was told when he was to kiss the book; says, that, in Jan. 1807, he heard John Croggon and Symons (who was Mayor when this transaction took place) say, that, at a former election, Varcoe was in a state of dotage, and did not know what he said; has at different times, before October, 1807, heard the Rev. George Moore say, that there could not be legally put upon a jury any more than two capital burgesses; and that all, except two, must be free-men,

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dence of John Brown with respect to the dotage and imbecillity of Varcoe; he saw Varcoe sworn; he saw Sir Christopher canvassing.

PHILIP LUKE said, that, between the holding of the two courts, the *Rev. George Moore* came to him, desired him and his wife to go to his house, and asked them if they would rather *live well*, or *hard*; he answered, that, to be sure, he would rather live well; the *reverend George Moore* said he would give him a line to carry to Sir Christopher at Trewithen; told the *reverend Moore* that he would not accept of it, and that he would not deceive his party for a thousand pounds; the *reverend Moore* told him to go and consider of it; here they parted. — Being cross-examined, he said, that, on the 19th, the Cochrane party met, and that a paper was drawn up about who should go to the court and who should stay away; that the old men were to stay away; because the old men had not strength to tarry upon the jury; it was understood that no presentments of freemen were to be made: it was so agreed to; they went to the court according to this agreement; believes that the object was to tire out the other jurymen; at Goyen's, on the 26th, it was, from first to last, agreed, that no presentments of new free-men should be made; they confined their resolution to the presenting of free-men.

ANN LUKE corroborates the evidence of her husband as far as relates to the offers of the *reverend Moore*, and adds, that she was sent to communicate, and did communicate, to that very *reverend gentleman*, her husband's rejection of the offer.

ISAAC WATTS says, that Varcoe did not know his own relations; his victuals were put for him, as for a child; on the 26th Varcoe told Watts that he did not know who was presented; between the 19th and 26th of October, heard the *Rev. Mr. Dillon* say, while the free-men were huzzaing in the streets, "We will have some of them *one way* or *one way*;" "yes," said Symons, the Mayor, "for all their noise, we will do for them;" Croggon said, "they talk of power, but, next week, we will let them see, whether we have any power or not." Symons said, he could put off the court for three months longer if he liked, and that they would do for their twenty-seven before the next week was over; Sir Christopher, who was present at this time, said, "mark those men who are now huzzaing;" Sir C. said, "mind so and so, they shall repent of it." Witness saw George Hoyte go into Goyen's; he told witness that he would

cause him to be presented (witness not being a free man) and that he and Varcoe were to be upon the jury. Between the two courts, George Hoyte told the witness, that Sir Christopher and the magistrates (meaning the Capital Burgesses) were going to meet that evening, being the 24th of October, to settle upon who should be presented, and that, if he liked it, he should be one of the new free-men.

JAMES COOK corroborates the evidence in proof of Varcoe's dotage; says that, for two years before, the old man was in a state of second childhood.

FRANCIS BROWN says, that, between the two courts, he heard Symons and John Croggon, talk about the court; both said, that they would make a presentment of new free-men next court, whether right or wrong.

JOHN BROWN said, that Siccombe, one of the new freemen presented, was not an inhabitant of the Borough at the time; he never had a house in the place; his father, indeed, lived at Grampound; he was there only a few days before the 26th; was there merely to see his friends.

JOSEPH DEVONSHIRE, who is above sixty years of age, has never lived out of Grampound above a year; never remembers any Capital Burgesses, except the two Elizors, being upon a jury of the Borough; has talked upon the subject, with many old men, now dead, and never heard them say that any such thing was.

The evidence for the prosecution, which, from first to last, was given in a manner to excite, in the mind of no one that heard it, the smallest doubt of its truth, imposed a task upon serjeant Lens (who was in this case, the *defender* of Sir Christopher) which he did not appear to think lightly of. As he had a very animated speech of serjeant Pell to answer, and had no evidence to produce, against that *which every man must believe*, he bent his endeavours towards persuading the jury, that the offence was of a *trifling nature*, and the punishment, if the defenders were found guilty, would be *terribly severe*. In these endeavours, which were well calculated for the jury, to whom he was addressing himself, he was successful, notwithstanding the charge of the Judge, who, after a very minute and fair review of all the circumstances of the case, and of all the facts that were established by evidence, at the end of a trial that lasted seven hours, told the jury, that the conduct of Sir Christopher and the other defendants, in adjourning the court, in the manner in which they did; that Mr. Moore's offer to Luke and his wife; that the offer of Hoyte

to make Watts a freeman upon the understood condition of the voting for Sir Christopher; that Sir Christopher's asking Goyen to be upon the jury, for the avowed purpose of bringing in such persons as should be pointed out to him; that all this was very mean and dishonourable, and not less unlawful, because, as each jurymen was to be sworn, when he went into the jury, all these several endeavours were made for the evident purpose of causing men to act contrary to their oaths solemnly taken, endeavours upon which it was hardly possible to bestow reprobation sufficiently severe. "The point," concluded he, "upon which your verdict must turn is, however, is this; whether the court of the 19th was adjourned with *good* or an *evil* intention. If you are of opinion, that the adjournment was made from the persuasion that a fair and impartial jury could not be formed at that time, and that, to secure the laudable ends, for which the court was, or ought to have been holden, it was necessary to adjourn it, you will, of course acquit the defendants; but, if you are convinced, that the adjournment was made for the purpose of obtaining time to bring some of the freemen over to make such a presentment as would answer the self-interested views of Sir Christopher and the other defendants, then I am sure I need not observe to you, that a verdict of guilty must be the result of your deliberations."—Ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour's whispering together; on the part of the jury, prepared the audience for what was to follow, it being quite impossible, that, as to *opinion* upon the matter, there should be the hesitation of a moment. They told the Judge, that they *could not agree*. He repeated: "If you are convinced, gentlemen, that the adjournment of the 19th was made, not for any laudable purpose, but for the purpose of bringing over, by promises, or otherwise, any number of free-men to be put upon the jury, in order to make such a presentment as would be likely to add to the number of free-men in Sir Christopher's interest, it appears quite clear to me, that you ought to find the defendants guilty."—They turned round again, and, having literally laid their heads together for about five minutes, pronounced a verdict of NOT GUILTY; upon which, at eleven o'clock at night, a very numerous and respectable audience dispersed, leaving Sir Christopher Hawkins, who was, all the while, standing behind the people in the gallery, to an unenvied enjoy-

ment of the feelings naturally arising from an acquittal so pronounced.

To apply the knowledge derived from these details, to objects of a more general nature, shall be the task of some future day. For the present, Gentlemen, I shall content myself with having made a record of transactions, so necessary to be well and universally known; and shall console myself with the hope, that the day is not very distant, when, adopting your principles and imitating your conduct, the whole of the people of England, may raise their voice for that Purity of Election, without which, as the Judge observed upon these trials, our boasted constitution is, if possible, something less than a shadow.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful, and most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

DUKE OF YORK.—QUEUES.

SIR;—I beg leave to recommend to your notice, the following Order issued lately by his royal highness the commander-in-chief, as I think it highly deserving of being transmitted to posterity, in your valuable record of official documents. I think it unnecessary to make any observations on this Order, as unqualified approbation, mingled with strong feelings of admiration, is the only sentiment which can possibly be excited by it. It is truly pleasant to find men high in office, occupied with matters of real importance! And it cannot fail to give satisfaction to every patriotic mind, to observe that the fire, kindled by the leaders of the Spanish revolution, has lighted up a correspondent flame in the sympathetic bosom, of at least, one of the great leaders of this generous nation; and that the impediments to cordial co-operation, on our part, are now about to be removed.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

D. M.

General Order, Horse-Guards, July 20, 1808.

"The commander-in-chief directs it to be notified, that in consequence of the state of preparation for immediate service in which the whole army is at this present moment held; his majesty has been *graciously* pleased to dispense with the use of *queues*, until further orders. —His royal highness desires the commanding officers of the regiments will take care that the men's hair is cut *close to their necks*, in the neatest and most uniform manner, and that their *heads are kept perfectly clean*, by combing, brushing, and frequently washing them; for the latter essential purpose, it is his

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"majesty's pleasure that a small sponge shall hereafter be added to each man's regimental necessaries.—By order of his royal highness the commander-in-chief.
—(Signed). HARRY CALVERT, *Adjutant-general.*"

CORN AGAINST SUGAR.

SIR,—In taking up the gauntlet you have thrown I, perhaps, may only prove my own weakness, and then be classed in your numerous list of vanquished knights of the quill. However, I will, withstanding all alarm poise my weak weapon, since the battle is not always to the strong. Your sentiments are clearly expressed; but, the assertions and arguments of some of your opponents coincide so ill with their proofs and conclusions, I confess, I am at a loss to discover whether they intended to advocate the cause of sugar, or of corn. At all events, their contention against the prohibition of the use of grain in the distilleries, when they admitted the existence of a partial scarcity, was ridiculous enough; and betrayed more avarice than patriotism. I allude principally, to your cotemporary journalists and to the petitioners. I cannot, however, assent to the propriety of all your remarks on the question. In your last number, you exultingly ask "what will the barley growers say now? since the bill passed it has continued to advance, whilst oats have risen one third." This, Sir, is owing to the demand for both these articles in the North, where the partial scarcity exists; to the short crop of last year and to the shutting of the Dutch ports. In your former numbers, you have argued in favour of the continuance of the bill, whatever may be the situation of the country; whether excluded from intercourse with the continent, or possessing the fruits of an abundant harvest; and on this point we differ. As a measure of general policy I deem it a bad one, since it destroys the magazine which the distilleries afford; thus rendering us more dependent on the seasons and on foreign supply; it is, assuredly, as important to become independent of both these as of commerce. That this country has produced corn enough for its own consumption, and had considerable quantities to spare, may be proved by many authorities. I will take one which will shew, that when the farmer receives encouragement he will provide for the wants of the nation. Anderson, in his *Essays*, states "the average quantity of all kinds of grain imported into Great Britain between 1710 and 1750 amounted to 20,976 qrs. annually; the quantity exported to 665,435 qrs.; so that the

balance in our favour amounted to 644,459 qrs. During this period, it will be observed, wheat could not be imported till the price amounted to 53s. 4d. and not even then under a duty of 16s. if above that price and not exceeding 80s. the duty 5s. But, mark the difference, in 1757 the corn laws were altered and 48s. was fixed as the import price, and the duty 6d. per qr.; immediately the exportation began to decrease and, on the average of years, between 1773 and 1793, the importation exceeded the exportation by 430,157 qrs. In 1775 the imports exceeded the exports by 972,400 qrs.; making a difference in the quantity of corn produced in the years 1750 and 1775 of no less than 2,679,859 qrs." This deficiency, amounting to about one eighth part of our consumption, cannot be attributed to any change of seasons; but to the aforementioned alterations in the corn laws. Precisely in the same manner will the interdiction of the use of grain in the distilleries operate; by abstracting a portion of demand, equal to their consumption, and thus reduce the price and the quantities produced. This, however, would not be of such importance, were no other consideration involved; for, the supply would soon proportion itself to the demand, and the farmer would receive just the same profit. But, when we reflect on the misery of dependence, it becomes a matter of serious concern; and I do contend that the distilleries, by consuming annually 470,000 qrs., may be considered as a provisional depôt, containing that quantity, and which may be served out when necessity requires. Yet, we are told by those who would have the measure adopted uniformly, that this is a trifling consideration compared with the distressed situation of the West India planters: and you have recommended that each article should be brought to the still loaded with the same duties and run the race fairly. A little consideration will shew the fallacy of such reasoning. Mr. Spence has clearly proved in his pamphlet, entitled, "the Radical Cause of the Distresses of the West India planters," that, by a combination of circumstances, there are 140,000 hogsheads of sugar produced, annually, more than there is a demand for, either at home or abroad!—the committee estimate the consumption by the distilleries at 30,000 hogsheads and Mr. Bosanquet admits that this new demand would not raise the price sufficiently. This sort of relief, to be sure, would be more potent than the late order of the bountiful Dunkirk hero respecting pig tails and the use of flour, in the event of famine,

but its effects would be very insignificant. Why, Mr. Cobbett, should the West India planters be relieved at the expense of a much more valuable portion of the community? I can see no reason. You have repeatedly stated agriculture to be the only source of wealth; therefore, is it not manifestly undermining its basis to support the unwieldy fabric in the manner you have recommended? The question, Sir, appears to be this; shall we have dear corn and independence, or cheap corn and dependence? The former is the most desirable situation; and I would suggest means to obtain it but for the fear of their giving the land owner a pretext to advance his rents; which would soon reduce us to our present state. I would, therefore, urge the propriety of distilling from grain; and, if possible, increase the quantity so consumed by laying an additional duty on the importation of foreign spirits. Your correspondent, Mr. Young, has recommended a general enclosure; but this, I agree with you in thinking, would not remedy the evil of dependence. During the reign of George II. this country annually exported an immense quantity of grain; and since the accession of his present majesty, notwithstanding there have been upwards of 1500 acts of parliament by which more than 3,000,000 of acres are inclosed, we uniformly import immense quantities. This wonderful change can only be attributed to the increase of luxury and to the extended demand for the produce of pasture: which have induced the farmer to transfer his capital to the more profitable employment. A general enclosure, I do not believe ever would take place unless the import price of wheat were considerably advanced. A deal of waste land will not at the present price pay for the labor and expense of cultivation. It is for those more deeply read in the science of political economy to consider, whether such an interference of the legislature would prove most beneficial to the proprietor or to the public at large.—I am, Sir,—With great respect,
Your's, X. Y. Derby, 4. Aug. 1808.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—(Continued from p. 315).—ESCAPE OF THE SPANISH ARMY SERVING IN THE BALTIC.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary.*

Admiralty Office, August 23, 1808.—Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received at this office, from rear admiral Keats, addressed to the hon. Wm. Wellesley Pole:

Superb, off Sproe, in the Great Belt,

August 13, 1808.—SIR—I have the honour herewith to transmit a copy of my letter to vice-admiral Sir James Saumarez, relative to the escape and embarkation of great part of the Spanish army serving in this part of Europe: an event produced as well by the honour, patriotism, and talents of its distinguished chief, as by the assistance and protection which I was directed by their lordships' orders to afford it. If the weather proves moderate I hope to disembark the greater part on the island of Langeland this day, where we have already a post of 2500 men. I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) R. G. KEATS.

Superb, off Sproe, in the Great Belt, August 11, 1808.—SIR—I have the honour and satisfaction to inform you, that by an immediate and zealous pursuit of the measures recommended in the duplicate of instructions received by the Musquito on the 5th instant, his excellency the Marquis de la Romana, and nearly 6000 of the Spanish troops under his command, were embarked this morning at Nyborg, which place he took possession of on the 9th.—By a combination of the same plan, more than 1000 have joined us this morning, by sea, from Jutland, and another thousand are thrown into Langeland, to strengthen the post held by the Spanish forces in that island, where it is proposed to land the remainder the moment circumstances of weather will permit of our moving. The arrival of the Spanish officer in the Edgar, on the 5th, of whose spirited escape to the squadron you were informed by captain Graves, greatly facilitated our means of communication.—No doubt could be entertained of the honour and patriotism of soldiers, who, indignant at the proposal of deserting their allegiance, though surrounded by hostile battalions, planted their colours in the centre of a circle they formed, and swore on their knees to be faithful to their country. All were equally anxious of returning to it. But one regiment in Jutland was too distant, and too critically situated to effect its escape: and two in Zealand, after having fired on the French general Frision, who commanded them, and killed one of his aid-de-camps, have been disarmed.—Some untoward circumstances having occasioned suspicion, and made a premature execution of the plan necessary, the wind and current being adverse, I left the *Superb* on the 8th, and went in my barge to the Brunswick, off Nyborg, and two hours after my flag was hoisted. On the 9th the general took possession of the town.—Although the Danish garrison yielded to circumstances, an armed brig of eighteen

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Guns, the Fama, and a cutter, the Salorman, of twelve, moored across the harbour near the town, rejected all remonstrance on the part of the Danes, and every offer of security made by the general and myself. The reduction of these vessels being absolutely necessary, and the Spanish general unwilling to act hostilely against Denmark, such small vessels and boats as could be collected were put under the command of capt. M'Namara, of the Edgar, who attacked and took them. On this occasion I have to lament the loss of lieutenant Harvey, an officer of much merit, of the Superb, and two seamen wounded; the enemy had seven killed and thirteen wounded.—I should have noticed that the Spaniards, irritated at the opposition their friends who came to their support met with, departed in some measure from the general's intention, and fired some shot at them before they struck.—Expedition being deemed of the greatest importance, I shifted my flag to the Hound in the harbour; and as neither of the 3 ships of the line, from circumstances of the weather, could be brought near in, 57 sloops or doggers, found in the port, were fitted by the seamen, into which great part of the artillery, baggage, and stores, were embarked that night and the following day, and removed to the point of Slypharn, four miles from Nyborg, where the army was embarked safely, and without opposition, this morning, notwithstanding the very unfavourable state of the weather, and they are now under the protection of his majesty's ships at the anchorage off the Island of Sproe.—Some sacrifices of horses and stores were conceived necessary by the general; and as I considered it right, under the peculiar circumstances, to enter into the views and wishes of the marquis de la Romana, every unavoidable act of hostility was rigidly abstained from, for I did not consider it any to bring away the brig and cutter that rejected our offer of security, and I forcibly opposed our entrance into the port; and I even undertook to liberate the vessels employed as transports, provided no interruption was made by any to the peaceable embarkation of our friends.—I should be unjust to the meritorious exertions of the officers and seamen employed on this short but fatiguing service, if I neglected to represent their merits on this occasion to you; capt. Graves's services were required afloat; capt. M'Namara, of the Edgar, undertook the equipment of the transports, with the embarkation of the stores; the embarkation of the troops was made under the direction of capt. Jackson, of the Superb, and capt.

Lockyer, of the Hound; capt. Smith, of the Devastation, and capt. James, of the Kite, were indefatigable in their exertions in the various duties I assigned them. Many circumstances having combined to make an attack on the rear probable, great precaution was necessary.—Such guns as could be brought against us were spiked, and the embarkation was covered and most effectually protected by the Minx gun-brig and the two prizes, and by the very judicious disposition of the gun-boats, under the command of capt. May, of the royal artillery, who volunteered, and whose services on this and other occasions were highly useful.—It is not easy to express the joy and satisfaction felt by every class of the army at this event; and no circumstance, I believe, could have afforded more real pleasure to us all. One, the regiment of Zamora, made a march of 18 Danish miles in 21 hours.—I transmit herewith for your further information, copies of such letters as I deemed it requisite to address to his Exc. the Marq. de la Romana and the governor of Nyborg on this occasion. The replies to the former were verbal, through a confidential officer, and the latter were made personally.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) R. G. KEATS—Vice admiral Sir James Saumarez, &c &c. &c.

Note.—Since this letter was concluded, we entertain some hopes that part of the regiment in Jutland, we thought lost, has escaped to the post at Langeland, by the western channel.

Superb, off Langeland, August 5, 1808.
—SIRS—I have the honour to inform you, that I have received from my government the most positive instructions to endeavour to communicate with the Spanish officers commanding the troops of that nation in the vicinity of my command, and to concert with them measures to secure their retreat from any place of embarkation which they may possess, and for placing them in a state of security until transports for their reception can be provided to convey them to Spain, for which, as well as the necessary provisions, measures have already been taken, and indeed of the arrival of them I am in hourly expectation. Until that period shall arrive, they are welcome to share in the accommodation and provisions of the ships under my command, but as that might not afford ample means at present, although I am in expectation of the commander in chief, I would suggest, under the pressure of circumstances, the removal of the troops to some of the islands in the Belt for their perfect security.—But as a measure of this

magnitude to the interests of the Spanish nation would necessarily require a concerted plan, lest by attention to partial interests the general one might suffer, I request an unreserved and confidential communication, either to the ships off Nyborg that stationed off Langeland, or any of his Britannic majesty's ships in the Belt, and through the bearer of this, or by any other means. I propose sending on Sunday, unless I should earlier receive some person on board, a flag of truce, under some pretext, to the Spanish post at Spoysberg, and if this should be safely received, I wish, in token of it, a small guard might parade in some conspicuous situation at noon to-morrow, near the English ship at anchor or under sail near Spoysberg.—In my present situation it is impossible, ardently as I enter into the views of my government and the Spanish nation, to attempt to lay down any fixed plan. My services, and those of every Englishman under my command, are devoted to the cause; but before measures can be adopted, we must communicate, agree on, and combine, as far as it may be possible, the interests of the Spanish troops in Jutland and Zealand with those in Funen and Langeland. I shall keep a ship for some days off Spoysberg; and every ship under my command will be on the look-out and receive any boats that may approach them. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) R. G. KEATS.—To the officers of his most catholic majesty's troops.

Superb, off Langeland, August 7, 1808.
—Sir, understanding from the Spanish officer that the accompanying paper * is the true state and situation of the Spanish troops in Denmark and its dependencies, the following, according to the various circumstances that present themselves to my view, appears to form a plan that promises the fairest prospect of success to insure their security and ultimate embarkation:—Those in Zealand I would propose to force their way to the Peninsula, of which Halskø, near Corsør, forms the projecting point towards Sproe.—That isthmus appears capable of being defended, or at least seems to afford the means of defence for a few days, till I could remove them to the island of Sproe.—Those at Frederisca, by seizing on vessels, might possibly force an embarkation, and unite with those on Funen, which might perhaps be favoured by some movements of the troops at Odense.—Separate, or united with those in Jutland, I apprehend those in

* Thought unnecessary now to send.

Funen could secure themselves in the Presque Isle (peninsula) which terminates near the island of Romsoe, of which the pass near Kurteminde appears to form the Gorge, and I could, if necessary, remove them to Romsoe; it would greatly facilitate the necessary naval operations, and might enable me to send a ship of the line towards Frederisca to favour the troops in Jutland, if those in Langeland should be thought in security on that island; if they should, the other troops might be landed at leisure on that island, and the whole embarked from thence; but if the troops at present there are incapable of maintaining themselves at that place, in that case I must leave a ship of the line and a sloop, which could, at almost any time, receive them on board, and convey them to any other place that might be approved of, till transports could be procured for their reception.—My means, (three ships of the line and half a dozen small vessels at most,) are not, perhaps, sufficient to embrace all these objects at once; but the zeal and exertion of the officers and ships' companies would greatly diminish the difficulties, and I should be much aided in lending assistance to the troops at Frederisca, if, as I have before said, those in Langeland should be considered capable of maintaining that post without any immediate support. I am aware some sacrifices of horses, and perhaps cannon, might be necessary, and we must be prepared to encounter even unforeseen difficulties; naval arrangements and movements are ever dependent, in some degree, on weather; but I should hope to surmount them all. It would, of course, be right to drive in cattle, and take whatever provisions might be practicable with the troops, as it would not only save our present supply, which, the victuallers not having at this moment arrived, is rather scanty for the Spanish army, but would put me at ease on that score, provided any unavoidable delay should intervene, and prevent my sending supplies to them on shore.—In my present uninformed state I am not in a situation to judge how far it might be in the power of, or deemed preferable by the Spanish commander, to seize on Nyborg. It would secure the inactivity of the gun-boats in that port. But such a measure might possibly involve the safety of the troops in Zealand and Jutland, by inducing the Danes to act hostilely, when otherwise they might be disposed to wink at, or make no serious efforts to impede, the quiet removal of the Spanish troops.

(To be continued.)